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CITIZENS' PERSPECTIVE ON THE PROBLEM OF JUVENILE
DELINQUENCY AND CRIME IN METROPOLITAN DETROIT

Prepared by: .

Citizens Ad Hoc Committee on the Creation
of a Workable Juvenile Justice System in
the State of Michigan

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October 1976

- oct 1989

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The following list of names represents only a partial list of the twenty-five people directly involved in the production of this White Paper. Because of the high degree of emotionalism present in the community, in all levels of government, and the fact that the remaining members were involved as either employees in sensitive areas of the overall justice system, or as elected public officials, the Committee has agreed to a policy of confidentiality in order to protect the individual members:

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PERSPECTIVE ON THE PROBLEM OF JUVENILE DELINQUENCY AND CRIME IN METRO DETROIT

Introduction - On the "Climate of Opinion," Metro Detroit, 1976

The ultimate solution to controlling crime in urban areas is related to the ability of the community to harness all of its resources and mount a planned, systematic method to achieve control. In brief, if a community is to successfully deal with the problem of crime it must create an environment where opportunities for reason, objective fact-finding, and rational decision-making based on real needs and resources are maximized.

At the present time the committee does not feel an effective environment has been created to mount such an effective program of crime control or prevention in the City of Detroit and Wayne County. In fact since the infamous Cobo Hall incident in late August of this year, we have witnessed an alarming increase in scapegoating, exploitation of the general public's fear, and inter-group conflict. It is the purpose of this committee and this "white paper" to begin to help bring about a more positive climate for change by putting the facts and real problem of crime in perspective. In this way the public can demand accountability from all public officials, and from all sub-systems responsible for the development of effective action.

Perspective 1 - The Role of the Media

The local media is partially responsible for the loss of perspective in Detroit. We charge that the media has helped to create a dangerous, non-productive environment for rational problem-solving by:

1. Erroneously focusing on Detroit's Black Mayor as the public official most responsible for the rising crime rate among youth. Factually, the Mayor and the City of Detroit control only a small part of the

juvenile justice system and youth service agencies. Any content analysis of local media coverage since the Cobo Hall incident will verify that the media is blaming the city's Black Mayor while devoting almost no attention to the role and responsibility of predominantly White public officials who do in fact control important resources and have important policy-making powers.

We witnessed with alarm the open racist nature of comments by some White citizens of Detroit at the August 25, 1976 Hearing of the State Senate Committee on the Judiciary. We also noted the growing interest of White politicians outside of the metropolitan area who are using the "Young-soft-on-crime" image generated by the media in an apparent attempt to pick up frightened White votes. Such exploitation and scapegoating is becoming increasingly evident to Blacks in Detroit, especially after the defeat of Richard Austin. In fact many Black citizens feel that the press and the media did a "hatchet job" on Austin by linking him with a slush fund system that had been set-up and used for many years by White predecessors but never became an issue until he, as the first Black Secretary of State in the history of the State, decided to seek the U.S. Senate as the first Black candidate in Michigan.

The form of scapegoating described above has unwittingly shielded other dominant figures and complex parts of the overall justice system from public view, and hence, from public accountability.

2. Publishing misleading facts about the nature of crime and delinquency and promoting action strategies that in essence have nothing or very little to do with the problem. For example, the media spotlighted youth repeaters as being the major cause of the rapid increase in crime in Detroit and Wayne County. One local newspaper listed names of 380 youth (most of whom

were said to be repeaters from State Training Schools) and boldly announced that these were the primary offenders in the City of Detroit. However, verified data from Michigan Department of Social Services now indicates that only 12 of the so-called state repeaters were involved out of the total list of 380 youth theorized by the police to be behind most of the action. Can 12 youth known to police and state officials terrorize an entire city? Youth workers in the State Department of Social Services have been held in contempt for "letting all those thugs out on the streets again." A campaign has been mounted to push proposals that juvenile court judges be given the same sentencing powers as judges in the adult judicial system (a system by the way which has a worse track record than the present inadequate juvenile justice system) to ensure that repeaters stop preying on the public. The truth of the matter, as will be verified in later parts of this report, is that state and local officials have no hard data to support the above policy proposals. Significant numbers of reported youth gangs are not even youth in the legal sense of the juvenile code. Many are 18 to 20 year olds who manage to fall between the cracks of our non-system of juvenile care and control, and are already subject to the sentencing rules of the adult court system. In addition, the media openly campaigned for a new curfew law in Detroit which is aimed primarily at keeping youth 17 years of age and under off the streets after 10 p.m. This will continue to have limited impact in terms of the real problem of crime and delinquency in this county. For example, the facts would indicate that a significant amount of serious crimes on the street on the part of so-called organized youth gangs are done by hardened youth already beyond the age of 17. Hence, the law does

not really address the problem. More importantly, at no time did the media explain to the public and public officials how a curfew law would curtail the narcotic traffic which causes a significant number of violent crimes.

It is our grave concern that the media may be unwittingly promoting a false sense of security within the city by promoting actions where there is neither real definition of, nor real proposed solutions to the problem.

3. Use of sensational reporting of so-called major youth gangs and use of interviewing methods and approaches to reporting which creates an attractive stage for many youth groups to compete for attention. Aside from crucial economic factors it is well known by urban researchers that the major drive behind many pre-delinquent and delinquent gangs is the desire for "rep," status and recognition. During the high point of reporting after the Cobo Hall incident, youth gangs were so attracted by the spotlight and sensationalism generated by the media that they were actually competing with each other to take credit for what had been occurring.

It is not surprising then to this committee that during one point in the controversy, youth groups, many of whom had little or any direct involvement in serious crimes in the community, took the bold steps of asking the Mayor of the fifth largest city to negotiate a settlement. The media had conveyed a message to them that they were big and bad enough to demand such attention....

4. By overemphasizing crime and negative aspects of city life and projecting a continuous image of Detroit as being a dangerous, "dying city" left to the mercy of a Black Mayor who is "soft on crime" and "roving Black youth gangs" who rob, murder and rape white women, the local media is helping to perpetuate a self-fulfilling prophecy.

One of the worst examples of this sort of imbalanced reporting was the tremendous attention given by the local media to the rape of a White female near Cobo Hall and the almost casual coverage of the series of alleged rapes of Black women by White suburban adult male gangs. Such imbalanced reporting has obvious racist appeal to the White majority because it communicates incorrectly a message that the city is filled with Black youth gangs out to rape White women.

In summary then, it is the feeling of this committee that the local media (with the exception of late reporting by the Detroit Free Press and ongoing balanced reporting by the Michigan Chronicle) have confused the public and public officials to such an extent that the media must be considered a part of the problem.

Under these conditions real problems and issues of crime confronting this community will continue to be lost amid the sounds of empty political rhetoric coming from politicians who will naturally exploit any media created platform to get elected or re-elected.

In conclusion, the committee understands the problem that the media encounter in trying to deal constructively and responsibly with the task of reporting crime in a free society. The media must sell air time, advertising and compete with each other for their share of the market consistent with the demands of the American economic system. Note for example the following memo from within the Detroit News directing newsmen to shape their news coverage more in the interest of suburbanites:

"When you have occasion to layout or revise 1A, please bear the following in mind:

We are aiming our product at the people who make more than \$18,000 a year and are in the 28-40 age group.

Keep a lookout for and then play -- well -- the stories city desk develops and aim at this group. They should be obvious: they won't have a damn thing to do with Detroit and its internal problems. A fine example is Waldmeir's column on the bottom of 1A Monday. I think it should have been on the top of 1A.

While it dealt with Detroit and its horrors, it went beyond that. It was an example of just the horrors that are discussed at suburban cocktail parties. Notice I said suburban -- that's the \$18,000 plus and 28-40 group.

What to do when city desk doesn't come across? Go to the wires. I want at least one, preferably two or three, stories on 1A that will jolt, shock or at least wake up our readers.

Go through the last few weeks of the Early Edition and you'll see what I want: 'Nun charged with killing her baby', Prison horrors revealed', They chummed together -- and died together'.

Sure, we've got to cover hard news -- but you've got the whole rest of the paper of all but the very hardest of hard news. Look for sex, comedy and tragedy. These are things readers will talk about the next day -- and that's what I want. I want 'em to talk about The News. I don't care if we step on toes or piss people off or make them laugh or cry. If we get them talking about our product I think our circulation will pop. Up!

That's what it's all about. Any questions, ideas or anything for that matter, come and talk to me. In the meantime, use this as your guide.

Mike

This obviously has had an impact on the kind of reporting and resulting competitiveness among local media in Detroit. The media must control the above kind of exploitation if they truly wish to be a part of the solution to the problem.

Perspective 2 - On the Problem of Juvenile Crime in American Society versus the Problem of Crime in Other Parts of the World: Implications for Detroit

The problem of increasing juvenile crime is not peculiar to Detroit, to Michigan, or to America, for that matter. It is considered to be a serious problem throughout the world. However, the problem seems to have emerged at a faster rate in western industrialized societies since World War II. The disruptive effects of war on the family and community controls have been found to be a factor in some countries such as England after World War II. While this same cause has not been documented in America as having direct impact on the problem, many Black writers feel that America's involvement of its people and its resources in Vietnam shifted badly needed attention ^{resources} from the cities and the plight of youth, and opened the doors to increasing complex social and economic trends which have increased the overall volume of crime in general.

However, the most fundamental factor influencing the expanding juvenile crime in predominantly western industrialized societies would appear to be the impact of the market economy and some aspects of capitalism on youth in general. In such societies the market economy tends to dictate the importance and status accorded social groups and individuals in the society. In these countries youth are in many instances left in "a limbo land" between childhood and adulthood. This tends to place intense pressures on youth which negatively affects their sense of self-worth, competence, and, in the instance of male youth--their sense of manliness. The resulting process creates feelings of alienation, hostility and generalized need to "act out." The form that this acting out takes is dictated by social class; college youth "demonstrate" or form fraternities; street youth who are

unemployed and unengaged pursue their activities in the streets.

In conjunction with the above impact on youth, one of the important negative side affects of the market economy is that it creates a large concentration of disassociated people in relatively small urban regions, that is, people who have no real sense of social relationship to each other, hence, no responsibility or concern for each other. The resulting pattern is the development of large impersonal bureaucracies and social institutions that destroy a sense of community, and hence, community controls. Thus, many cities in western industrialized countries throughout the world will be dominated by people who are "strangers" to each other. In this environment needed community controls external to the social-control function of families are diminished and the cities become fertile soil for youthful delinquency and rebellion.

The only western countries that seem to consistently deal with this problem are the Scandinavian countries who have used expert social planning and social programming to alleviate some of the worse side affects of the "Stranger World."

Specific Perspective on Detroit and American Cities

Detroit is one of the most industrialized and urbanized regions in the world. Many of the problems generated by the market economy and urbanization are clearly obvious in Detroit, and these problems are especially acute because

of the large proportion of minority groups traditionally excluded from the market economy. In the case of Detroit we are speaking of the large Black population.

For the better part of this century millions of Blacks migrated to "northern" cities of America in search of "the land of promise," in search of economic survival, in a society dominated by the almighty dollar. Not only did he have to survive as other immigrants did in a "world of strangers," but he also had to deal with the hostile forces and laws of a racist society which attacked his psyche on an unrelenting day-by-day basis. Many of the social resources needed to survive competitively in the market economy were and are still being denied him. He became part of an excess labor pool, a pool on which the American economy draws when necessary. Hence, not only is there the general process of increasing alienation of Black youth, but also alienation of a disproportionate number of Black adults. This continues to generate massive pockets of hostile, alienated, young Black males who are increasingly forced to invent their own desperate means of survival. Things done under conditions of desperation and "survive or else" can become brutal and ugly no matter what the color of one's skin.

In addition to the above general conditions affecting Blacks in the urban "stranger world" of 20th Century America, the market economy has had a devastating affect on the Black family as the primary institution responsible for socialization of the young. The negative and destructive effects or lack of equal employment opportunities for Black male head of households, and its effect on other basic services needed to perpetuate a sense of family, contribute intense pressures toward acting-out by Black male youth. This pressure renders

customary notions of family and community controls meaningless, in far too many cases. This can reach even more dangerous proportions when it is considered that one of the by-products of the market economy is a loss of sense of community and a lessening of external controls in the community.

We believe that the above is typical of American cities in general, but that the problem in metropolitan Detroit has been exacerbated, intensified and magnified by recessions in recent years. If one accepts the above explanation of causes, then it follows that a recession with its high unemployment and inflation hit Blacks worst. (Notice for example the criminally high rate of 40 to 50 percent unemployment of Black youth.) Furthermore, since Detroit is a predominantly Democratic Party affiliated city with large concentrations of politically active Black citizens and leaders, it has also had to weather the recession with diminishing federal support, support which in past years has at least served as a "finger in the dike." This has had an especially devastating impact on Black youth because many social and work related programs that at least served as "temporary havens" from the backwash of the market economy were the first and hardest hit. Remember the cutbacks in federal support for youth work programs to Detroit and other big cities under the "benign neglect policies" of a dominant white Republican Party? Cities had to sue the Federal Government to retrieve some youth funding, but under the weight of continued Federal resistance have all but given up hope and have in essence left many Black youth to their own devices for survival.

Conditions affecting and generating juvenile crime in Detroit are so much a part of deliberate national policy that the ultimate solution can only be found at the national level. In addition to negative aspects of national policy, the cities have been so drained of their economic base that special supports must be

Take Away Resources

instituted now, support which will improve the overall socialization process of Black youth in particular, youth in general, and expand the economic opportunity structure. Politically this can only come about through pursuing a national policy of full and equal employment and the setting up of a national urban conservation corps to serve as an alternate means of enhancing the socialization, work and career preparation of Black youth and youth in general. It is only through this process that we can hope to stem the tide. Such a corps should be open to all youth age 16 to 19 who are left without needed opportunities for self-development as a result of the negative aspects of our market economy.

A recent article by a Federal Justice Department official suggest that socialization and rehabilitation programs have not worked, and boldly assert the need to build more jails for youth and adult offenders. Such a "defeatist" policy would lead to the need to build jails on an unprecedented scale to house predominantly Black youth. The results under contemporary standards of social decency would make urban America strikingly similar to the children's penal colonies of Charles Dickens' and George Bernard Shaw's early industrial England. Such conditions would obviously be socially and politically unacceptable to increasing Black majorities in American cities, and to emerging Black Nations who will have increasing impact and economic affect on international relations in the future.

Over-expansion in the direction of building more jails could lead to a dangerous environment of complex, open racial, and class conflict unparalled in the history of American cities. (Indeed, history reveals that prisons have often been the symbolic target of revolutions.) The impact on world opinion would obviously be devastating and not in the best interest of American society as a whole. Thus, the only sane, beginning solution to the problem of juvenile crime confronting

American cities and Detroit in particular is to pursue humanistic (and parenthetically, economically sound) means such as full and equal employment and community-based programs which provide meaningful, non-criminal alternatives to disadvantaged youth. The same approach may be the only means to also cut back on drug and substance abuse which is all too often the most readily available product which Black youth and youth in general use in a lame attempt to escape the horrors, the inhumanity of a world not invented by them and in which substantive numbers still have no place.

Perspective 3 - On the Problem of Juvenile Crime in Michigan, City of Detroit and Wayne County: Why Are We No Further Ahead, Who Has Failed to Act?

It can be readily seen in the preceding perspective that a substantial part of the juvenile crime problem relates to ineffective, insensitive social and economic policies at the national level. It is indeed ironic that the same national government now through its Organized Crime Strike Force continues to undermine the authority and the ability of the Mayor and the local government by suggesting without any yet published facts that top police officials (mainly Black), or local leaders (mainly Black) possibly are corrupt. We are not suggesting that any and all officials reasonably suspected of being in a conspiratorial relationship with organized crime not be investigated thoroughly, quite the contrary. However, the process used to date by the federal government weakens the capacity of the community to deal effectively with the problem, just as federal policy helped create the problem. In fact, we smell a dirty "partisan rat" that suggest that the recent probe may be more related to, and inspired by, the need of the white dominated Republican Party to influence the voting process in Michigan come the November election.

While the policies and the actions of the federal government are seen as a major factor in our current crisis, there are several levels of state and local government and community agencies which must share the blame for the current serious scope of the problem. As the following parts of this report indicate, more could have been done in spite of the non-supportive attitude of the federal government since the late 1960's.

The first hard data regarding needed action by the state and local bodies to stem the tide and more effectively prevent and control juvenile delinquency and crime was produced by Reverend Hubert Locke in a federally funded research project conducted for the Wayne County Planning Commission in 1969.

Locke documented the following conditions affecting crime control and prevention in his comprehensive 1969 study:

1. "...agencies and resources presently employed to control crime are so poorly staffed and equipped, and so scattered and uncoordinated that effective crime control in Wayne County... is totally inadequate. The training of personnel in this area lags at least three decades behind the current requirements for effective crime control efforts. In addition, structured, substantive programs in crime prevention consciously directed toward this aspect of the problem, simply do not exist. Apart from a comprehensive, regional coordinated and massive effort in these areas, the citizens of Wayne County can anticipate that what is presently a dilemma of critical proportions will become totally unmanageable...
2. "...But the problem of crime continues to increase, and the frantic cycle of public response continues: more agencies, more programs, more staff...and more crime. In Wayne County and across the nation, we are fighting a losing battle and the battle is being lost, in large part, because the public fights a battle for which it has never adequately planned, with methods and weapons whose effectiveness it has never evaluated. In fact there is no common agreement among the citizenry on who is the enemy...
3. "The system of law enforcement and the administration of justice, not only in Wayne County but throughout the United States, is best characterized by the observation of the Lord Chief Justice of Great Britain who in 1953, after six month tour of American courts and police departments, noted, 'I never thought I could visit 20th Century America in order to see 19th Century England.' In essence, what we are using in our cities to deal with one of the nations' most vexing urban problems, is a system in which little substantive change has occurred in the past one hundred years, one into which society has increasingly piled func-

tion upon function without any critical assessment of the system's ability to effectively resolve them...

4. "Little effective headway will be made in controlling and preventing crime until society is willing to take a more enlightened and objective view toward what the police and court system can realistically accomplish and to place the responsibility for dealing with many problems currently and ineffectively handled by the police and the courts under the aegis of other agencies and institutions..."

"The clearest example of this need for a radical change in our approach to this problem can be seen in the problem of drug and narcotic addiction. Probably no single factor contributes as greatly to the dramatic increase in crime against persons and property - street assaults, armed robberies burglaries and thefts - than that of drug addiction, but as long as society attempts to deal with addicts through the police-court process of arrest, trial and imprisonment, we will make no headway whatsoever in curbing this enormous problem....

5. "There are also such a welter of agencies currently operative in the field of crime control and prevention, often independently and frequently without any intra-organizational communication or coordination and occasionally with duplication or at cross-purposes, that critical facets of the problem go unattended or ignored. The clearest and most appalling gap [in the criminal justice system] lies in dealing with the problem of youth between the ages of 17-21. This age group accounts for the greatest percentage of criminal acts committed by adults that are detected and yet this same age group received the least in services, programs and opportunities for constructive citizenship of any age group in this country."
6. "...There is currently in Wayne County no agency which has primary responsibility for working with 17-21 year old youth, yet this is the age group which presents the largest problem in crime control and prevention, and the greatest need for services..."
7. "...until and unless a major overhaul of these systems is undertaken, all efforts will be little more than stop-gap measures having little significant impact on the steadily increasing problem of criminal activity and behavior in our society."

The above excerpts from Volume I of the Locke Study clearly provide a historical perspective on what we are now still facing some seven years later. Volume I dealt with a range of recommendations regarding crime too lengthy to cover in this "white paper." The reader is, however, encouraged to read the Report in its entirety.

Later parts of the 1969 Locke Study, Urban Crime and Urban Planning: A Report of the Wayne County Crime Control and Prevention Study Phase II, dealt specifically with the problem of juvenile crime. In the opening section of the Report Rev. Locke's team very eloquently summarized the problem:

1. "...It is the summary judgment of this Report, expressed dramatically by the Honorable James H. Lincoln, Judge of Wayne County's Probate Court - Juvenile Division, that the total resources of the County must be mobilized to work constructively with youth before they become delinquents or juvenile offenders -- "this is the one area where the problem is greatest". according to Judge Lincoln, "this is where we are constructively doing the least, and this is where we must turn off the faucet, if we are to do anything significant and meaningful about the crime problem in our community."
2. "The research findings of this Report document to a considerable what is already a matter of public knowledge or public suspicion: 1) that youths between the ages of ten and seventeen represent the largest, single group of new offenders who came to the attention of the courts and police agencies each year, 2) that lacking any constructive attempts at rehabilitation, a significant portion of this group will go on to commit more frequent and more serious crimes between the ages of 17-21, 3) that the public and private agencies committed to working with such offenders are grossly inadequate to the magnitude of the problem, and, what is probably the most important finding of all, that 4) most youths who begin their careers in crime as juveniles and who graduate to more serious criminal offenses as adults are persons who, by a number of formal and informal processes, are identified at a relatively early stage in their careers as potential delinquents or adult criminals, and little if anything is done at that point, to intervene or to attempt to constructively dissuade such persons from a life of crime....
3. "Public and private agencies who have had problem youth and delinquents referred to them for help in most cases are unable to tell in any systematic fashion what happened to such youngsters once they left or were released from the agency's supervision....follow-up or periodic examination of a youth's career who at some early point in his life come to the attention of perhaps a half dozen individuals as a youth "headed for trouble" and who eventually become a police statistic and a court record.
4. "...in an overwhelming number of cases examined during this study, there were periods in the lives of persons now serving sentences in state prisons for serious criminal offenses (i.e. murder, rape, robbery, assault, burglary, etc.) when someone could have intervened and possibly made a

constructive difference in that person's life, attitude and behavior. And such records as are available consistently reveal that this intervention did not happen, and as a result, youths who early came to be identified as truants or incorrigibles, "graduated" to the status of delinquents, youthful offenders, adult criminals and ultimately, inmates of state prisons....

5. "...if the citizens of Wayne County wish to do anything substantive and effective to decrease the crime in the community, they must begin with juveniles and provide them with constructive alternatives to lives of crime before youths in trouble, and especially delinquency-prone youth become criminal careerists."

The Locke Study went on to recommend building a model system of intervention and indicated that the public schools and juvenile court (who have most contact with children 5-15) had to continue to play a key role if real headway was to be made. However, schools and courts must redesign programs that will interact with each other in order to serve the entire community. The Report further indicated that the public would have to be more supportive of the schools and juvenile courts and understand that these two institutions could not do the job alone. The Study recommended the following in this regard:

"...create new programs and effect changes in existing programs, policies and agencies that will serve more effectively the needs of all youths, and 2) develop a process of system of intervention especially for those youth who are identified by school, parent, private agency or even themselves as delinquent-prone or problem youth, before they come to the official attention of the police or the courts."

After reviewing needed curriculum and counseling improvements in the Detroit Public Schools, the Locke Study looked at other key community institutions such as private youth and social service agencies and found the following problems and needed changes:

1. "Wayne County is served by a large network of [private] social agencies who receive both tax funds, private contributions and United Foundation support....
 - A. "...two major criticisms must be made of the total program of services provided by [private] social agencies. The first, that they significantly serve a middle class populace to the neglect of many persons in poverty areas of the county where the social problems are the worst and the need is the greatest...."

- B. "Second, and of equal if not greater significance to the problem of crime and delinquency, there is, with few notable exceptions, an almost uniform police among [private] social agencies working with youths adjudicated as delinquents.... As a result, there is a serious gap in social services directed consciously toward those youth who represent the greatest area of need.... Missing in our social policy is structured programs between the "safe" youngster and those already declared delinquent, a policy designated to provide programs and services that will dissuade the marginal youth from becoming a delinquency statistic.
3. "There is critical need therefore for a cohesive system of private agencies geared to the prevention and rehabilitation aspects of juvenile delinquency, for evaluation procedures, agency accountability, clarification of goals, interdisciplinary and interagency cooperation, a clear determination of priorities and the expanded use of para-professionals in social agency programs....
4. "[Private] social agencies in the county must have a standardized approach to the classification of youth problems, evaluation methods, follow up procedures and some basic agreement on what youngsters should be helped first and at what cost, if those agencies are to make a more effective contribution to reducing the incidents of youth crime and delinquency."

Locke next looked at the role of the local church and considered that church institutions:

1. "represent large and virtually untapped resources for intervening constructively in the lives of youths in trouble... Currently, however, most churches and synagogues, like many non-religious social agencies, are content to work with the "safe" youngster; their programs do not reflect a serious commitment to the marginal youths in trouble....
2. "Churches and synagogues have large investments in buildings, equipment and staff which can be put to effective use in work with marginal youth. Using their own financial and personnel resources, and the tremendous potential for volunteer assistance which are available to them, churches and synagogues can open community centers, half-way houses, counseling programs and many similar, sorely needed services to youth. In situations where religious institutions lack the staff or expertise to operate such activities, they can make their buildings available to private or governmental agencies for such efforts...."

After his review of the problems of existing community and youth service institutions, Locke stressed the need for new types of resources and services to youth to mount an all out systematic attack on the growing problem of juvenile delinquency and crime in 1969. The first type of new youth resources involved the

development of new style, multipurpose, Neighborhood Centers specifically designed to meet the needs of delinquency-prone youth. The second type of needed new resource called for the establishment of Open Residential Centers. The third major new resource involved the establishment of a "State Youth Authority." He described the first type of new resources, Neighborhood Centers, as follows:

"Neighborhood Centers as proposed in this Report are designed to provide basic societal tools for re-directing the attitudes and behavior patterns of young people. Such Centers will add a new dimension to social planning and will augment and complement the resources which schools and other institutions presently use to develop confidence and self-awareness in young people whose sense of alienation and insecurity or whose hostility toward socially acceptable goals and behavior make them all too susceptible to careers in criminal activity.

"IMPLICIT IN THE CONCEPT OF NEIGHBORHOOD CENTERS ARE THE FOLLOWING ASSUMPTIONS

1. that the ultimate solution to the problems of crime and delinquency lies within the community or social system; that the very nature of this basic change in the system is necessary if crime and delinquency are to be lessened. It is to this end that the Neighborhood Center addresses itself, for it is innovative in concept and broad in scope and is, in fact, a change in the system.
2. that the ultimate goal of any intervention process is to increase the resources, organization, cohesion, and skills of the community thus enabling the community itself to channel the behavior of its youth and resolve their personal and social problems.
3. that behavior and attitudes are formed and reformed within the context of a group and that changes in those attitudes would be most effectively realized by working with the peer group itself; that the traditional casework one-to-one ratio method has not been successful; that new methods must be attempted.
4. that youth exhibiting delinquent or criminal behavior often choose this form of anti-social behavior as their way of handling a personal or social problem; therefore, the goal of the Neighborhood Center will be to alleviate the problem whenever that is possible or redirect the youth's behavior pattern to a more socially acceptable alternative (and one that is also fully acceptable to the individual).

5. that the resources and assistance available within the neighborhood or community have a greater potential for effective use and are superior to services set within a more formal, centralized, bureaucratic structure especially in the areas of flexibility, creative programming approach and ability to reach those not usually reached by traditional agencies; that considerable talent within the community that could be used within the Center in a constructive, creative and satisfying manner.
6. that the schools and churches cannot be expected to be the only formal institutions who aid the family in formulating socially and psychologically healthy children; that a supportive facility which would contribute to the development of a sense of worth, esteem and a willingness to act constructively should be given top priority as youths are our only potential for the future.

"The Neighborhood Center would service all youth from ages seven and up; and since the young are not isolates, it would indirectly service total families. While the Center is not designed to be a microcosm of all existing services, it should provide space for those agencies whose contacts with youth is frequent and would benefit from geographic proximity, i.e. Juvenile Court probation officers might be a good example. THE MAIN ACTIVITIES OF THE CENTER, HOWEVER, WOULD BE THOSE WHICH BOTH ATTRACT YOUTH AND AID THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIALLY AND SELF-SATISFYING CITIZENS.

FUNCTION OF THE NEIGHBORHOOD CENTER

"I. IDENTIFICATION: Identification of young people who need help because of emotional or social disorders or aid because of practical problems with schools, family, job, etc. To do this effectively will require extensive use of indigenous non-professionals whose community ties allow for access to persons whose problems are often hidden from personnel of the more formal social institutions...

"II. DIRECT 'TREATMENT' OF PROBLEMS: This might involve clarifying a child-parent communication problem; rewarding school work; or group therapy....

"III. REFERRAL: One of the most important aspects of the Neighborhood Center would be its function as a resource both for what does and does not exist in the larger community. One of the unique features of the Neighborhood Center, and one which is essential to its effective operation, is a structure for systematic follow-up on all juveniles who are referred or who voluntarily seek the Centers services....

"IV. RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES: This should be a well developed program in a variety of areas. The recreational program should be one that allows gangs to successfully turn into teams. It would also allow for socially acceptable methods of working with the adult establishment; e.g. the policeman's baseball team vs. the Neighborhood Center youth....

"V. EDUCATIONAL SUPPORTIVE SERVICES: Persons would be available to assist with school work and encourage the students to assist each other...

"VI. TOTAL FAMILY SERVICE: It is important that indigenous personnel be utilized as liaison with the parents wherever it is deemed advisable. Further, personnel and resources should be available for parents who wish to confer either concerning child-rearing or simply as an outlet for family complaints and frustration regarding the child....

"The philosophy underlying the Neighborhood Center concept represents a radical departure from traditional approaches to delinquency; it argues that the surface problems of drug use, alcoholism, and delinquent behavior are rooted in more basic personal or socio-pathological difficulties. It suggests that the best treatment approach, one which has not been tried on any significant community level but one which is based upon the best knowledge available about human behavior problems, is to deal with such persons a) in as normal community atmosphere as possible (as opposed to the traditional approach of isolating such persons for punishment and rehabilitation after the fact), b) by utilizing more stable young persons themselves as part of the treatment atmosphere and process, and c) by avoiding the labeling of such persons as social failures and treating them accordingly..."

Locke defined the second type of new resources, Open Residential Centers, as follows:

"RESIDENTIAL CENTERS

As a resource for serving youth between the Neighborhood Centers and the adjudication process represented by the courts, this Report recommends the establishment of a system of Residential Centers where more seriously delinquent youths or youths in trouble can be provided short-term housing upon referral by an appropriate agency and/or a facility which court officials can use as an option between sending delinquent youth to state training schools or placing them on probation....

"As with the Neighborhood Centers, however, the Residential Centers should be geared primarily to the needs of youth before their adjudication as delinquents. Again in this area, all efforts are directed toward detention, correction and rehabilitation after a youth has been convicted of a crime; little is being done to exhaust every conceivable remedy and resource before a juvenile is officially branded as a delinquent. The Neighborhood Centers together with the Residential Centers would provide two new vehicles for dealing directly with this important need, that of providing meaningful options between the schools on the one hand, and the courts on the other for assisting youths in trouble."

Locke saw the two resources of the Neighborhood Centers and Residential Centers making up a significant part of a badly needed systematic network of local planned services to delinquent and pre-delinquent youth who in many instances were

not receiving adequate services. The third recommended new resource involved the need for more state leadership, planning and direction through the establishment of an independent, visible State Youth Authority. The Study team indicated that State Youth Authority should operate as follows:

1. "... establish a comprehensive and coordinated program of services for the prevention and treatment of neglect and delinquency through the operation of programs and facilities for families, children and youths who require guidance, care, control and treatment, setting and enforcement of standards for such programs and facilities, cooperation with public and voluntary agencies, organization and citizen groups in the development and coordination of programs and activities directed toward the prevention, control and treatment of neglect and delinquency and the exercise of responsible leadership in every way possible in these areas...
2. "...because of its potential significance to the people of Michigan, the Bureau of Youth Services should be made a fully independent agency of state government. It should not...be lodged in the State Department of Social Services where it will become one more among the large number of diverse responsibilities which this important state department carries out. The Bureau of Youth Services should be able to request and receive funds, set policy, obtain staff and implement program quite apart from the demands or limitations of other state departments....
3. "...the research facilities of the Bureau should be designed to specifically include a centralized, information file on every facility in the state which provides treatment or services for youth....
4. "...The State Bureau of Youth Services should be given the power and responsibility of maintaining the accountability of all agencies, public and private, who expend funds and carry out [youth] programs and designed to serve youth. The state currently spends an enormous amount of money in this area and there is no adequate way of determining whether funds are being spent wisely or not. The State Bureau, through periodic and systematic inspection, analysis and evaluation of agency services can provide the citizenry in general funding agencies in particular with the assurance that public and private dollars are being effectively allocated and productively expended.
5. "The creation of such a state youth authority to bring an effective degree of planning, coordination and advocacy on behalf of youth is one of the most positive and far-reaching steps which can be taken to deal constructively with youth problems and delinquency. Planning, legislation and programming for youth in general and delinquents in particular lag at least two generations behind the times. In the area of juvenile correctional facilities alone, less than 10% of the state's correctional facilities are available for the age group in the populace which currently commits over 50% of the crime in Michigan."

As can be seen from the very extensive 1969 Locke Study, a variety of systematically designed programs and services were needed in conjunction with the juvenile court and school to at least successfully make a dent in the problem. In the light of this historical overview we must ask: What happened in the ensuing years? Who failed to act within Michigan? Our review of efforts made since that time would tend to indicate that little if anything has occurred on any sustained basis within the juvenile justice system in this state, county, and city. For example:

1. The State Legislature and the Governor's Office did not establish the youth authority structure needed to provide long-range planning, coordination, standard setting and badly needed leadership. Instead, a compromise structure called an "Office of Youth Services" with a three man Parole and Review Board was given limited authority and tucked away in the larger bureaucracy of the Department of Social Services. Subsequent changes in that limited structure over the past few years has further weakened its potential. Thus, a void still exists at the state level for long-range planning and leadership to coordinate overall state and local resources.

One of the consequences of the above mentioned state failures has been the overutilization of costly institutional programs for status offenders. Not only is there evidence of less cost effectiveness, but research would also indicate that there is less rehabilitation. This also limit bedspace needed for more harden offenders.

Another reason for this state level failure is that the State Youth Department responsible for aftercare services of youth released from youth facilities has continued to hire too many white females, who by and large (because of the position in which they've been placed by a

sexist and racist society) cannot effectively relate to tough urban youth. The Black males who are products of an urban environment are screened out because of irrelevant Civil Service standards regarding employment. As a result this leaves the aftercare program with an unbalanced staff which is limited in its capacity to relate effectively to youth on aftercare status.

We will note however that the State Youth Department has improved institutional facilities and community based facilities consistent with modern research on rehabilitation. We are still limited however in Wayne County because of the location of those facilities. In brief, while some progress has been made at the state level, the overall volume of programs such as community based group care houses and residential facilities are still too meager to exert marked influence in Wayne County.

2. The County Board of Commissioners has consistently failed to act on several important needs highlighted by the Locke Study. For example: The county has not coordinated youth services. Note for example the total failure of the Juvenile Facilities Network operation. It spent 10.4 million dollars and there is still practically the same degree of fragmentation as seen in 1969. No adequate system of monitoring, training and evaluation of efforts was ever developed. Too often, needed decisions got bogged down in political struggles and personality issues. Therefore, community support and needed cooperation of agencies were never realized.

In spite of consistent recommendations regarding badly needed neighborhood and residential centers, only one partially developed center got off the ground--it has since been closed. The effect of this is that the Wayne County Juvenile Court still does not have the range

of badly needed services or level of united agency-community cooperation to have a greater impact on its probations services.

While county commissioners may claim with some justification a lack of local resources to finance all of the above, we concluded that with more effective leadership and the limited federal dollars provided, much more could have been done. We conclude that for all practical purposes the county has not progressed very far beyond 1969 conditions.

3. The City of Detroit has not effectively used many of its existing facilities to provide more meaningful, constructive outlets to youth who need services the most. It has failed to make its available services such as recreation more structured and goal oriented and interfaced with existing work and educational programs. Too many city agencies affecting youth operate as if they are separate governments unto themselves. For example:
 - A. Rigid bureaucratic procedures of city agencies affecting youth services still prevent effective development and delivery of services that are available (though limited by increasing federal cutbacks). We note that City Recreation Centers do not have the type of services called for by Locke in this 1969 study. Many of their present facilities are not used to the fullest extent possible because of inadequate collaborative procedures which do not effectively engage other youth service agencies. In some instances city zoning laws have prevented development of badly needed group homes and community based facilities. Note for example the failure of the city (the major beneficiary) to utilize, cooperate, and interface with the State Office of Youth Services in the development and operation of the Dexter-Elmhurst Youth Attention Center. This is especially alarming in light of the fact that the area in which the center is located has for the past 15-20 years had

- one of the highest delinquency rates in the city.
- B. Our review of the City also indicates that the phasing out of its Detroit Youth Board was a major mistake. A Board involving youth and citizens may have to be revived. Without such an agency structure to more effectively coordinate services to youth, the present fragmented service delivery system will continue.
 - C. Before the federal cutback the City wasted millions of dollars under the Model Neighborhood Program, money which could have been used to deal with the problem of juvenile crime.
 - D. As late as 1972 the Detroit Police Department was still following the outmoded "warn and release without referral and follow-up" routine noted by Locke in 1969. It has shown very little in the way of imaginative ways to interface with youth service agencies. Consequently in 1972 approximately 17,500 youth, a number of whom we must assume were in need of help, received no follow-up services. While this situation is related to the appalling lack of community based services, we also feel that a part of the problem is a general lack of knowledge about the commitment to use of agency resources and referral systems and procedures.
 - E. The Police Department does not cooperate with State Officials to the extent necessary, for escapees from State youth facilities to know that they will be picked up and sent back. While there have been some improvements over the past few years, there are still too many cases being ignored for too long. This further undermines the entire juvenile justice system and suggests to adjudicated youth that the system does not mean what it says.

Finally, we are concerned by an apparent lack of the Detroit Police Department to develop an effective team of visible youth specialists whom the community and community youth workers will trust and respect. As a result, the Police Department is often the last community institution to understand what is going on with youth in the City. Until this is changed the police will always lack liaison capabilities in youth matters and, as a result, will have a limited impact on community prevention efforts.

4. Private agencies in metropolitan Detroit with their independent Boards still have not successfully collaborated with other youth service agencies. Note for example the failure of UCS supported agencies to display leadership and assistance in aborted county attempts to develop new Neighborhood Centers specifically related to delinquent youth. Combined UCS action and influence might have made a difference. As a whole, private agencies still continue operation as was the case in 1969. The same is true regarding church related institutions.
5. The Detroit Public Schools are probably in worse shape now than at the time of the Locke study. The drop-out rate continues at an appalling level and lack of effective career educational designs still penalize many Black youth. Yet adjacent to the Detroit system are suburban systems that are among the best in the nation. They have more money to spend per student. The schools do not sufficiently interface with the juvenile justice system. Very little follow up is done with youth released from state facilities, and many gains made by youth while in institutional care are lost when they return to the public school system.

In summary then, most of the problems noted by Locke in his comprehensive study in 1969 remain relatively unchanged in 1976. We must therefore conclude that we are still at this late date without a modern, effective, planned, coordinated juvenile justice and youth service system, a system which most urban researchers agree is the only effective weapon to prevent and control delinquency and crime. As a result, with the impacted nature of Detroit, its sizable Black youth population, and the gradual but dramatic cutback in federal assistance in areas affecting youth and families, the problem of juvenile crime in this county has increased and become more potentially dangerous than at the time of the Locke study. This is a condition that must be squarely confronted now by every citizen who is concerned about juvenile crime, the protection of the community, the waste and destruction of youth, and the quality of life. In the following section of this report several recommendations which will help improve this situation are made.

Perspective 4 - On What Needs to be Done by Individual Citizens and Groups to Ensure More Effective Control and Solutions in Michigan, Wayne County, and the City of Detroit

1. The most popular notions about dealing more effectively with juvenile delinquency and crime in our community have been related to passing tougher laws. Citizens must realize the problem is not one of simply passing tougher laws, but laws that effectively address specific wrongful acts of youth in the context of a free society. In this regard, we have grave concerns about the recent emergency ordinances which prohibit minors from being on the streets after 10:00 p.m., and which require the production of verifiable identification from anyone stopped, pursuant to previous "Stop and Frisk"

laws. In spite of the fact that these ordinances give unfettered discretion to law enforcement officers, and in spite of the fact that the ordinances are selectively enforced, many citizens refuse to acknowledge that these enactments represent alarming encroachment upon fundamental constitutional principles. This is even more alarming when it is remembered that facts do not support the theory that this curfew is the only thing that can be done. What is the impact of legally dubious, unfair laws on the development of youth's attitude toward and respect for laws? How many non-delinquents have and will become more alienated and hostile toward authority? It is our belief that many will be alienated by this official policy of restriction "to the house" (shades of South Africa). To the extent that this occurs we may be losing more than we gain and run the risk of larger concentrations of rebellious youth.

In the face of a repressive climate of opinion generated by the media, concerned citizens must remember, as did our founding fathers 200 years ago, that ours is a government of laws and not of men, and that the "rule of objective law" must be an essential element in the development of a heterogeneous political order committed to preservation of individual and minority rights. We must always proceed from the premise that governments are instituted not only to secure the collective interest of society but also to protect the inalienable rights of individuals. Citizens must, therefore, insist that any further laws passed under the present conditions of crisis fully reflect the following summarization by J. Rawls in A Theory of Justice:

"Each person possesses an inviolability founded on justice that even the welfare of society as a whole cannot override. For this reason justice denies that the loss of freedom for some is made right by a greater good shared by others. It does not

allow that the sacrifices imposed on a few are outweighed by the larger sum of advantages enjoyed by many. Therefore in a just society the liberties of equal citizenship are taken as settled; the rights secured by justice are not subject to political bargaining or to the calculus of social interest."

Therefore, it is our conclusion that Detroit Common Council should not renew the present "emergency curfew law" at the end of the 60-day period.

2. The second important step that concerned citizens can take is a united effort to influence the media to do more precise, less sensationalized, and selective reporting of youth crime. The media should not be allowed to exploit for economic gain the misery of youth in this city. Should the media continue with its present conflict-producing coverage described earlier in this report, concerned citizen groups should join forces and use the economic means at their disposal (boycotts, picket lines, and letters to key sponsors) to influence the media to report more accurately.
3. Concerned citizens should demand that the State Legislature and the Governor pursue legislation that will lead to the development of an adequate youth authority structure called for by Dr. Locke seven years ago. In addition, legislation should be enacted which will prevent the placement of status offenders in costly State institutional facilities. This would vacate space for more serious delinquents who cannot be handled effectively in the community. Evidence would indicate that most status offenders could be more successfully worked with at less cost in the kind of programs recommended in Dr. Locke's study. The State, however, should be asked to help local government improve the level of available community based services badly needed by status offenders and youth who are on probation and parole. We believe the above actions would be more effective than suggestions calling for a return to the old system of giving more powers to Juvenile

Court judges. Citizens should remember that prior to the famous Gault decision and other enlightened decisions affecting youth that Juvenile Court judges had supreme, unparalleled power and demonstrated insignificant impact on the overall scope of the problem. More importantly, however, is the fact that better utilization of existing resources and the overall planning and coordination of total state and community resources can best be done by an independent agency of State Government. Juvenile Court judges have a large enough task managing the overwhelmed juvenile courts in the State. How would they ever keep abreast of the overall changing program needs of the total State? This move we feel would add more fragmentation to the already poorly coordinated system.

4. Citizens should demand more information about the activities of the Wayne County Crime Coordinating Council to ensure that more cooperation, planning, and improvement of existing community youth service programs is handled in a more effective way than the past Juvenile Facilities Network (JNK). Citizens should also demand that the county, city, and private agencies come together, take joint planning and program development steps and development of policies that will ensure that the kids in conflict with home and school get priority in terms of services. We further recommend that these elements of the youth service system and churches jointly undertake the development of the kind of Neighborhood Centers and Residential Centers recommended by Dr. Locke. Detroit alone needs at least seven (7) such workable facilities where juvenile delinquency is the greatest. By and large, adequate physical facilities do now exist. If these bodies can cooperate to the extent necessary, most of this can be accomplished by realigning and integrating existing services. If Wayne County can

duplicate the range of services seen in Oakland County, more effective results could be obtained.

5. Citizens should continue to demand more career oriented programs from the public school. However, it is our feeling that because of the economic plight of Detroit, considerably more state and federal aid must be made available if the Detroit Public Schools are to be more effective. In the meantime, citizens should demand more cooperation from schools in relating to the needs of youth already involved in the juvenile justice system. This is most important for youth returning from state institutions. We are finally of the opinion that the public's expectations of the schools in reference to many left-out youth are unreal.
6. And last but not least, concerned citizens must remember that the City of Detroit and Wayne County will fight a losing battle unless the negative aspects of national policy, mentioned in earlier parts of this report, are not changed. Citizens should therefore seek through elected representatives, the media and coalitions of interested civic groups, to make what is happening to Detroit a national issue. Both candidates of major parties should be asked to take a position on the issue of full and equal employment and the creation of a National Urban Conservation Corps as a means of helping cities such as Detroit survive. Unless a candidate is elected who will fight for the above badly needed measures, things will continue to deteriorate.
The Federal Government must be held accountable for its past and continuing failures which have all too often left the cities and especially Detroit literally "under the gun."

Part V - Listing of Resource Materials Used

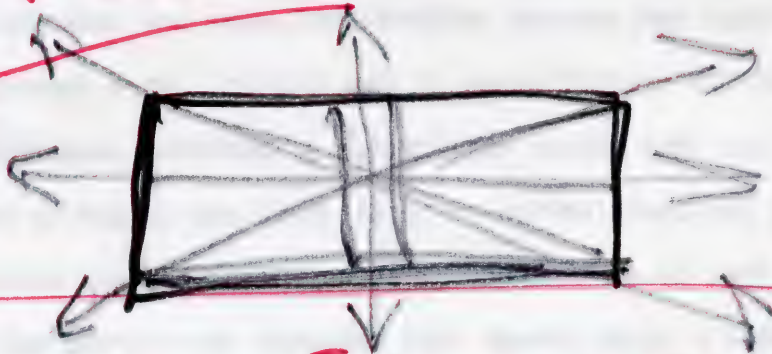
The following list of materials was used as resources to construct the several perspectives established by this White Paper. In addition to materials listed below the Committee was able to obtain additional insight into the working of our juvenile system through confidential interviews and statements from persons either presently or formerly employed at various key points throughout the system:

1. Perspective #1 resource materials consisted of ongoing analysis of media coverage by the Committee. The quotation on page 6 regarding a now infamous memo alleged to have been written by a Detroit News official was copied verbatim from the Sun, Vol. 4, No. 13, July 15, 1976.
2. Perspectives #2 and #3 used the following as major reference materials:
 - A. "A Comparative Perspective on Juvenile Delinquency" by Alber J. McQueen, University of Michigan, Survey Research Center.
 - B. "Negroes and Jobs" - a book of readings by Louis A. Ferman, et al, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.
 - C. "Decentralized Delinquency Services in Michigan," Studies in Welfare Policy #4, Social Service Evaluation and Analysis Division, MDSS, March 1975.
 - D. "Wayne County Juvenile Court Facilities Needs Study" (Phase I) by the firm of Peat, Marwick, Mitchell and Company for the Wayne County Board of Commissioners, January 1972.
 - E. "Urban Crime and Urban Planning - a pilot study, Vol. 1, Wayne County Planning Commission, 1969, also Phase II Report of November 3, 1969 (Locke Studies).
 - F. "Time Out - A National Study of Juvenile Correctional Programs" by Robert D. Vinter and Rosemary Sorri, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, June 1976.
 - G. "Coping with Crime in Tomorrows Society" by Laurin Walton, Jr., In the Futurist, June 1976.

RETHERIC is one thing

NEED MODELS → NEED ACTION

PLANS:



IN ORDER TO FULLY APPREHEND
this design must ^{BE} PLACED IT IN
^{HISTORICAL} CONTEXT → THE PROBLEMS OF YOUTH:
RETO FROM ^{OF THE 1980s} WHITE PAPER:

1. MARKET ECONOMY + REGNOMICS
2. MOVEMENT, MOVEMENT - HOMELESSNESS
3. SOCIAL POLICY - ANTI FAMILY, ANTI COMMUNITY
4. "GUN PLAY", CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM

DETROIT AS A MICROISM OF LARGER
AMERICAN PROBLEMS

DEATH + DYING - CHILDREN OF WAR

→ RECONSTRUCTION II

June 11, 2019

Hartford,

Maybe you can use some of the
words... oldies but goodies now.

Best.

Pin

Phase III. December 31, 1969 - March 30, 1970

- A. Expansion and intensification of Phase II,
- B. Completion of the Institute for the Training of Paraprofessionals,
- C. Community Service Corps,
- D. Evaluation of the first quarter's operation,
- E. Preparation and planning for the West Side Center,

Phase IV. April 1, 1970 - June 31, 1970

- A. Evaluation of all phases and outputs of program,
- B. Continued planning for second Center on the West Side of Detroit,
- C. Hiring of director for the East Side Center.

EVALUATION

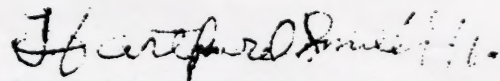
Evaluation is currently planned through several different sources. The first and most valuable, of course, will be provided by the Community Advisory Board with assistance from the graduate students in the School of Social Work. A second source of evaluation will come from Basic Data Sheets to be used as a part of registration procedures for the Community Extension Centers program. With follow-up by staff it is hoped that we can keep tabs on factors such as job references and college admissions activity. Some descriptive devices will also be used to get feedback from various community leaders and organizations. A final related source for evaluation, which has not been fully worked out as yet, involves follow-up study by doctoral or masters candidates in sociology, political science, education or urban planning.

SUMMARY

After attendance at numerous conferences at various universities throughout the country, I am convinced that Wayne State University is on the verge of a great

and significant breakthrough in the field of urban education and human relations. I am also convinced that the course that has been charted for ourselves has not been traveled before and so for a time we must accept the problems, turmoils, and troubles that often come by way of traveling uncharted routes. Out of this experience, however, we may find the kind of meaning and quality of existence and the kind of new values which a badly shaken society needs to maintain itself and to grope towards its dream of a promised land. Whatever the outcome, success or catastrophe, the responsibility rests as much with the various departments and units of this University as any place else.

Respectfully submitted,



Prof. Hartford Smith, Jr.
Director
Community Extension Centers
Program

August 1, 1969

**Scanned from the Hartford Smith, Jr. collection at the
Wisconsin Center for Film and Theater Research,
with support from Stephen P. Jarchow.**



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